



Draft: Muslim Homeguard Attacks on Tamil Civilians in Sri Lanka



Review waiting, please be patient.

This may take 2 months or more, since drafts are reviewed in no specific order. There are 3,253 pending submissions [waiting for review](#).

- If the submission is **accepted**, then this page will be moved into the article space.
- If the submission is **declined**, then the reason will be posted here.
- In the meantime, you can continue to improve this submission by editing normally.

Where to get help

- If you need help **editing or submitting your draft**, please **ask us a question** (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Help_desk/New_question&withJS=MediaWiki:AFC:HD-wizard.js&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) at the AfC Help Desk or get **live help** from experienced editors. These venues are only for help with editing and the submission process, not to get reviews.
- If you need **feedback on your draft**, or if the review is taking a lot of time, you can try asking for help on the [talk page](#) of a [relevant WikiProject](#). Some WikiProjects are more active than others so a speedy reply is not guaranteed.

How to improve a draft

- [Wikipedia:Contributing to Wikipedia](#) – a basic overview on how to edit Wikipedia.
- [Help:Wikitext](#) – how to use the markup
- [Help:Referencing for beginners](#) – how to include references
- [Wikipedia:Article development](#) – how to develop your article
- [Wikipedia:Writing better articles](#) – how to improve your article
- [Wikipedia:Verifiability](#) – make sure your article includes [reliable third-party sources](#)

You can also browse [Wikipedia:Featured articles](#) and [Wikipedia:Good articles](#) to find examples of Wikipedia's best writing on topics similar to your proposed article.

Improving your odds of a speedy review

To improve your odds of a faster review, tag your draft with relevant [WikiProject](#) tags using the button below. This will let reviewers know a new draft has been submitted in their area of interest. For instance, if you wrote about a female astronomer, you would want to add the *Biography*, *Astronomy*, and *Women scientists* tags.

Add tags to your draft

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Add_WikiProject_tags?withJS=MediaWiki:AFC-add-project-tags.js&title=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka)

Editor resources

- *Easy tools*: [Citation bot](https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) (https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) ([help](#)) | *Advanced*: [Fix bare URLs](https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&defaults=y) (https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&defaults=y)

Reviewer tools

- [Instructions](#) • [What links here](#) • [Muslim Homeguard Attacks on Tamil Civilians in Sri Lanka \(talk: +](#) (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:AfC_submission/banner_preload) • [bio](#) ([https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:AfC_submission/banner_preload_\(bio\)\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:AfC_submission/banner_preload_(bio)))) • [\(log](#) (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Index.php&title=Special:Log&page=Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka)) • [Copyvios report](#) (https://copyvios.toolforge.org/?lang=en&project=wikipedia&title=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_T

amil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&url=) · reFill (https://refill.toolforge.org/result.php?page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&defaults=y) · Citation Bot (https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=toolbar&slow=1&user=&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) · (Search: [Google](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Search&search=Muslim+Homeguard+Attacks+on+Tamil+Civilians+in+Sri+Lanka&fulltext=Search), [Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Search&search=Muslim+Homeguard+Attacks+on+Tamil+Civilians+in+Sri+Lanka&fulltext=Search) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Search&search=Muslim+Homeguard+Attacks+on+Tamil+Civilians+in+Sri+Lanka&fulltext=Search>)) · Submitted 14 days ago by [RajaRajaC](#) (talk: [D](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_editintro_(declined)&preload=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_preload_(declined)&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new) ([https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_editintro_\(declined\)&preload=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_preload_\(declined\)&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_editintro_(declined)&preload=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_preload_(declined)&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new))) · + (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_editintro&preload=Template:AfC_submission/user_talk_preload&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new)) · Last edited 9 hours ago by [RajaRajaC](#)

Submission declined on 23 September 2025 by [MarcGarver](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver>) (talk).



This is not formatted as an article - it is mainly a list of events with no context plus extensive quotes. The quotes are far too long and need replacing with fewer, shorter, quotes backed up by a range of reliable sources.

- If you would like to continue working on the submission, click on the "Edit" tab at the top of the window.
- If you have not resolved the issues listed above, your draft will be declined again and potentially deleted.
- If you need extra help, please **ask us a question** (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Help_desk/New_question&withJS=MediaWiki:AFCHD-wizard.js&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) at the AfC Help Desk or get **live help** from experienced editors.
- Please do not remove reviewer comments or this notice until the submission is accepted.

Where to get help

- If you need help **editing or submitting your draft**, please **ask us a question** (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Help_desk/New_question&withJS=MediaWiki:AFCHD-wizard.js&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) at the AfC Help Desk or get **live help** from experienced editors. These venues are only for help with editing and the submission process, not to get reviews.
- If you need **feedback on your draft**, or if the review is taking a lot of time, you can try asking for help on the talk page of a [relevant WikiProject](#). Some WikiProjects are more active than others so a speedy reply is not guaranteed.

How to improve a draft

- [Wikipedia:Contributing to Wikipedia](#) – a basic overview on how to edit Wikipedia.
- [Help:Wikitext](#) – how to use the markup
- [Help:Referencing for beginners](#) – how to include references
- [Wikipedia:Article development](#) – how to develop your article
- [Wikipedia:Writing better articles](#) – how to improve your article
- [Wikipedia:Verifiability](#) – make sure your article includes [reliable third-party sources](#)

You can also browse [Wikipedia:Featured articles](#) and [Wikipedia:Good articles](#) to find examples of Wikipedia's best writing on topics similar to your proposed article.

Improving your odds of a speedy review

To improve your odds of a faster review, tag your draft with relevant [WikiProject](#) tags using the button below. This will let reviewers know a new draft has been submitted in their area of interest. For instance, if you wrote about a female astronomer, you would want to add the *Biography*, *Astronomy*, and *Women scientists* tags.

Add tags to your draft (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Add_WikiProject_tags?withJS=MediaWiki:AFCHD-add-project-tags.js&title=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka)

Editor resources

- *Easy tools*: [Citation bot](https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) (https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka) (help) | *Advanced*: [Fix bare](#)

URLs (https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&defaults=y)

Declined by MarcGarver (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver>) 18 days ago. Last edited by RajaRajaC 9 hours ago. Reviewer: Inform author (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_editintro_declined&preload=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_preload_declined&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new).

This draft has been resubmitted and is currently awaiting re-review.

-  **Comment:** I have provided the following clarifications and justifications regarding the draft:
 - * **Historical Significance:** The topic holds clear historical significance. Applying overly restrictive criteria may inadvertently limit public access to important and underrepresented aspects of history.
 - * **Source Quality:** While testimony excerpts have been shortened, their inclusion remains crucial. These first-hand accounts from survivors and eyewitnesses provide direct historical insight and serve as valuable primary sources that enrich the documented narrative.
 - * **Citation Density:** The article demonstrates strong sourcing, with a high number of citations relative to its length. This reflects a clear effort toward verifiability and compliance with sourcing guidelines. Similar historical entries with fewer citations and less depth have been accepted, indicating an established precedent for inclusion when source quality is high.
 - * **Neutral Intent:** The article is not written to promote a particular viewpoint but to present verifiable, well-sourced information in line with Wikipedia's mission to make knowledge freely available. The content contributes to broader historical understanding and supports the platform's role as a public educational resource.
 - * **Community Collaboration:** Endorsing the article would allow for ongoing community engagement and refinement. Rejecting it at this point would prematurely halt the collaborative process and limit opportunities for constructive improvement.

Note from RajaRajaC to Reviewer: Since the last review, I've gone through the whole article a few times. I added more background info and shortened all of the quotes as much as I can, but kept the important parts since the survivor and eyewitness accounts give useful historical insight. I also added a table showing the attacks in order, and included a section on what happened to the Home Guard Service after the Sri Lankan Civil War. There's now some explanation of which massacres were carried out as revenge for the Kattankudy attack. I added images to help with context, improved the formatting, split the content into sections, and used a variety of reliable sources.

User:RajaRajaC (talk) 08:04, 28 September 2025 (UTC)

Background

The Muslim Home Guards in Sri Lanka were local auxiliary units raised to protect Muslim villages^[1] in areas affected by communal and insurgent violence. The Home Guard system itself traces its origins to the early 1980s and was formalised into the National Home Guard Service in the mid-1980s under the Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Act, No. 40 of 1985, which creates the legal framework for establishing and administering supplementary forces, reserves and other civil defence formations.^{[2][3][4]} Distinct Muslim Home Guard units were later raised during 1990 in response to a wave of attacks on Muslim communities along the east coast; these units operated as lightly armed, village-based defence detachments often under local police oversight.

Through a government gazette No. 1462/20 of 13 September 2006, the Home Guard Service was reorganised as the Civil Security Department (CSD) and placed within the Ministry of Defence, a move designed to regularise training, command structures and pay for the auxiliary force and to integrate it more closely with national security institutions.^{[5][1][2][6]}

[Image Placeholder]

The Muslim Home Guards were mainly stationed where tensions were rising, concentrating in areas where different groups coexisted or where control was constantly challenged. This situates the role of the Home Guards within the wider context of the Sri Lankan Civil War (1983 - 2009) which was marked by widespread violence, with numerous massacres targeting Tamil civilians.^[7] These tragic events are part of a larger history of ethnic conflict between the Tamil minority and the Sinhala majority, exacerbated by the rise of the Tamil Tigers (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, LTTE), a separatist group seeking autonomy.^{[8][9]} The following sections outline some of the most significant massacres, providing a clearer picture of the brutality faced by the Tamil community during the war.

Despite the severity and scale of the documented massacres involving Sri Lankan Muslim Home Guards, no investigations into the Massacres have ever been undertaken to hold the perpetrators accountable.^{[10][11]} Neither the Sri Lankan state nor its judicial system has pursued legal proceedings against members of the Home Guards alleged to have participated in attacks on Tamil civilians.^[9] This absence of accountability reflects a broader pattern of impunity that has long characterized Sri Lanka's approach to wartime abuses, particularly those committed by actors aligned with the state.

The Sri Lankan Muslim Home Guards operated with official support, including arms and training provided by the Sri Lankan military, and frequently acted in coordination with state forces.^{[1] [12]} This collaboration contributed to a series of massacres and systematic attacks on Tamil villages, particularly in the eastern districts; namely Trincomalee, Amparai, Batticaloa. Similar patterns of violence also emerged in Mullaitivu, in the Northern Province, also witnessed such violence where interethnic tensions between Tamils and Muslims had already been exacerbated by the war.^[1]

Attacks in Chronological Order

Attack	Date	Location	Death Toll	Injuries, Vulnerable Victims & Property Damages	Perpetrators	References
Massacre of 18 Tamil fishermen	9 December 1984	Mullaitivu	18		Muslim Home Guards	[13]
Othiyamalai massacre	2 December 1984	Othiyamalai, Mullaitivu	32		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[14][15][16][17]
<u>1985 Trincomalee massacres</u>	May – September 1985	Several places in Trincomalee	280+		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards & Sri Lankan Navy	[18][19][20]
Murugapuri massacre	8 September 1985	Murugapuri Trincomalee	3		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[21]
Nilaveli massacre	16 September 1985	Nilaveli, Trincomalee	40		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[22][23]
Kalvettu massacre	20 September 1985	Kalvettu, Ampara	15	10 injured	Muslim Home Guards	[24]
Anpuvalipuram Rd shooting	10 December 1985	Anpuvalipuram, Trincomalee	0	2 Tamil children injured and hospitalized	Muslim Home Guards	[25]
Rape and murder of 2 Tamil women in Muthur	25 December 1985	Muthur, Trincomalee	2	2 women raped	Muslim Home Guards	[26]
Akkaraipattu massacre	19 February 1986	Akkaraipattu, Amparai	80	5 women raped	Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[27][28][29][30]
Seruvila massacre	12 June 1986	Seruvila, Trincomalee	21	2 aid workers Injured	Muslim Home Guards	[31][32]

1986 Thambalakamam massacre	28 June 1986	Thambalakamam, Trincomalee	34		Muslim Home Guards	[33][34]
Mollipothana massacre	10 July 1986	Mollipothana, Trincomalee	11		Muslim Home Guards	[35]
Sammanthurai massacre	10 June 1990	Sammanthurai, Amparai	37		Muslim Home Guards	[36]
Kalmunai massacre that occurred on July 10, 1990 (Note: There are 6 Separate Instances of Kalmunai massacre from (1) 1985, (1) 1985, (4) 1990 so the Date is required in this field to Distinguish)	10 July 1990	Kalmunai, Amparai	31		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[37]
Xavierpuram massacre	7 August 1990	Alikampai, Amparai	7	1 disappeared, 12 badly injured; houses, church and school burned	Muslim Home Guards	[38][39]
Veeramunai Massacres	20 June 1990 – 15 August 1990	Veeramunai, Amparai	250+	2,000 homes and a Hindu temple set on fire	Muslim Home Guards	[40][41]
Tiraikerny massacre	6 August 1990	Tiraikerny, Amparai	54+	Victims included women and children	Muslim Home Guards	[42][43]
(Rev Fr. Eugene John Hebert - American) and His Tamil Driver	15 August 1990	Eravur, Batticaloa	2		Muslim Home Guards with the assistance of Sri Lankan Army	[44][45][46][47][48]
<u>Eastern University massacre</u>	5 September 1990	Vantharumulai, Batticaloa	158		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[49][50][51]
<u>Sathurukondan Massacre</u>	9 September 1990	Sathurukondan, Batticaloa	205	5 infants, 42 children below the age of 10, 9 pregnant women and 28 seniors that were over 68 were victims of this attack	Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[49][52][53][54][55][56]

Savukkadi massacre	20 September 1990	Savukkadi, Batticaloa	33	10 children and an infant were burnt to death.	Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[57][58]
Thalavai massacre	20 September 1990	Thalavai, Batticaloa	14		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards	[58][59]
1990 Puthukkudiyiruppu massacre	21 September 1990	Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu	17	Victims included women and children. Serious injury of 27 others	Muslim Home Guards	[60][61]
1990 Valaichchenai massacre	22 December 1990	Valaichchenai, Batticaloa	9		Muslim Home Guards	[62]
1991 Eravur massacre	20 February 1991	Eravur, Batticaloa	6	25 seriously wounded injured	Muslim Home Guards	[63][64]
<u>Polonnaruwa Massacres</u>	April, 30 1992	Muthugal and Karapola	89+	13 children under the age of 10 were victims of this attack	Muslim Home Guards	[65][66][67][68]
4th Colony village massacre	24 September 1997	Amparai	8-15		Muslim Home Guards	[69]
1998 Tampalakamam massacre	1 February 1998	Tampalakamam, Trincomalee	8		Muslim Home Guards & Sri Lankan Police	[70][71]

The table above lists the 28 documented attacks on Civilians with the involvement of Sri Lankan Muslim Home Guards. Notably, six of these massacres (excluding the attack on Rev Fr. Eugene John Hebert and his Tamil Driver) occurring between August and September 1990 appear to have been carried out as retaliatory responses to the Kattankudy Mosque Massacre, which took place on 3 August 1990 and was allegedly perpetrated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).^[72] Before the Kattankudy Mosque Massacre, there were 16 recorded incidents involving Home Guards in civilian attacks.

While intelligence reports and accusations exist, no public, transparent, or judicial investigation led to conclusively identify the perpetrators of the Kattankudy Massacre.^{[73][74]} According to UTHR, local testimonies collected in their Report 5, Chapter 2 (“A Bloody Stalemate”) ^[75] reveal that while there was widespread belief in LTTE involvement, but there was also continued ambiguity among local residents about who was actually responsible for the attack. A civilian named “Ranjith Appa” had been reportedly involved in the massacre, but whether he acted as a guide or played a leading role is unclear.^[75] UTHR also observed that “no thought was given to concealment,” a detail interpreted by some as suggesting the attack may not have been centrally planned, or that the LTTE’s chain of command was loose in this instance.

In an effort to prevent communal riots and consolidate territorial dominance, the LTTE expelled Muslims from the Northern Province in October 1990.^[76] Following the expulsion of Muslims from the Northern Province by the LTTE, a mass displacement that further strained Tamil-Muslim relations, only five additional massacres involving Muslim Home Guards were documented over the span of an eight-year period. This reduction in frequency may be attributed to the changes in territorial control.

The massacres carried out by Sri Lankan Muslim Home Guards were predominantly concentrated in the eastern districts; namely Trincomalee, Amparai and Batticaloa. These 3 districts held significant economic value due to their agricultural productivity and access to coastal trade routes.^[1] Alongside these eastern districts, Mullaitivu in the Northern Province also experienced significant violence, as it was a critical stronghold for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), making it a key target in the broader military efforts to weaken the separatist movement.^[1] In these regions, Tamils lived there as minorities among Muslims combined with their strategic importance, made them focal points for targeted violence by the Home Guards, who operated in coordination with state forces to destabilize and damage relationships between the two communities in order to assert control over the contested territories.^[9]

Post-May 2009: End of Sri Lankan Civil War

The images presented on [AFP Fact Check Website \(https://factcheck.afp.com/no-these-photos-do-not-show-recent-weapons-handover-muslim-groups-sri-lanka\)](https://factcheck.afp.com/no-these-photos-do-not-show-recent-weapons-handover-muslim-groups-sri-lanka) was released as a press release for when Muslim militant groups in the Eastern Province handed over their weapons following the Sri Lankan government-declared amnesty.^{[77][78]} The event took place at Kattankudy Jumma Meera Mosque on July 4, 2009 afternoon 3:00 p.m, in the presence of the Eastern Deputy Inspector General of Police (D.I.G.) Edison Gunatilake and Provincial Minister M.L.A.M. Hisbullah.^[79]

According to multiple news reports related to this event, the Sri Lankan Army and Police intensified its security operations in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province during this time to capture three high-profile individuals identified as Police Faiz, Muthur Nizam, and Ruhul Haq; figures who are believed to have played a critical role in the radicalization and recruitment of Muslim youth in the region.^{[79][77]}

By July 4, 2009, the authorities had already picked up seven suspects, in a series of precision raids led by special police units in Kattankudy and Eravur.^[79] One of those raids hit a jihadi hideout where they found two suspects and extensive weapons caches including seven T-56 rifles, SMG weapons, anti-personnel mines, claymore mines, detonators and high frequency communication sets.^{[79][77]} It was a clear sign of how deeply armed and organized these groups were.

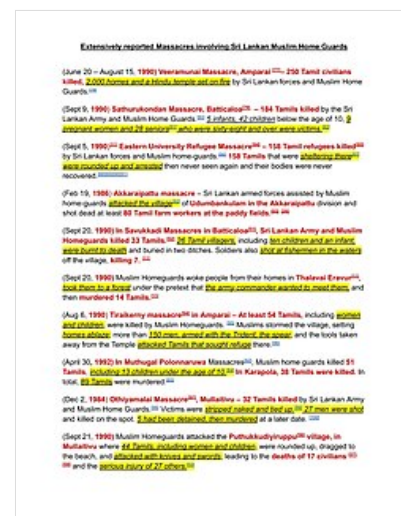
Security officials confirmed that investigations were underway to establish whether the individuals in question maintained affiliations with international extremist networks such as al-Qaeda, as well as identifying potential sources of external funding that may have supported their operations.^[77]

Extensively reported Massacres involving Sri Lankan Muslim Home Guards

Among the many incidents of violence during the Sri Lankan Civil War, certain massacres involving Muslim Home Guards are remembered for their scale, brutality, and for how well they were documented. They are widely remembered within the Tamil community and continue to be referenced in discussions on wartime accountability and justice. The following cases represent some of the most well-known and thoroughly recorded massacres attributed to the collaboration between Sri Lankan military forces and Muslim Home Guards, offering critical insight into the nature of targeted violence during the conflict.

Predating the major massacres of the 1990s, one of the earliest documented Massacres involving Muslim Home Guards took place on December 2, 1984, in the village of Othiyamalai in Mullaitivu. In this massacre 32 Tamils were killed. This massacre had been carried out by Sri Lankan Army forces and Muslim Home Guards.^[80] The victims were stripped, tied up, and shot, with 27 men killed on the spot.^[81] Five others were detained and executed later.^{[82][83][84]}

The events in Othiyamalai marked the beginning of a troubling alliance between state forces and auxiliary groups, a dynamic that would contribute to even more widespread atrocities in the years ahead. A very clear example was the Veeramunai Massacre in 1990. The Veeramunai Massacre, which occurred between June 20 - August 15 in 1990 in the Amparai district, is among the most devastating incidents in the series of attacks on Tamil civilians.^[85] During this period, over 250 Tamil civilians were killed, and more than 2,000 homes were destroyed. In addition, a Hindu temple was set ablaze by Muslim Home Guards. The attack was part of a broader pattern of retaliation by the Sri Lankan government forces aimed at Tamil villages, which were suspected of supporting the Tamil Tigers.^[86] The scale and coordination of the violence suggested a premeditated strategy that extended beyond conventional military engagement.^[87]



Appendix 2: Bullet Points Version of the Main Body with Key facts and Dates Emphasized

In addition to these major incidents, earlier massacres demonstrated similar patterns of coordinated violence. One such case is the Akkaraipattu Massacre, which took place on 19 February 1986 and was carried out by Sri Lankan forces, with the assistance of Muslim Home Guards. They attacked the village of Udumbankulam in the Akkaraipattu division, killing at least 80 Tamil farm workers.^[27] Five Tamil women complained of being raped in the paddy fields during the assault.^[30] The attack occurred in the paddy fields, where the workers were performing their daily tasks.^[88] The victims were shot dead, and many were left in the open fields.^[29]

In the lead-up to the major wave of September massacres on August 6, 1990, the Muslim Home Guards attacked the village of Tiraikerny in Amparai, killing at least 54 Tamils, including women and children.^[89] The attackers stormed the village, setting homes on fire, and employed a variety of weapons, including tridents, spears, and temple tools, in their assault.^[90] The incident is one of many attacks during the period of heightened ethnic violence between Tamils and Muslims in the region.^[91]

Nearly two years later, following the expulsion of Muslims from the Northern Province by the LTTE, the Polonnaruwa Massacres (in Muthugal and the surrounding villages) that occurred on April 30, 1992 saw 51 Tamils killed by Home Guards, including 13 children under the age of 10.^[65] ^[67] Another 38 Tamils were killed in Karapola in Polonnaruwa Massacres on the same day, bringing the total to 89. These massacres were part of a larger series of retaliatory attacks by Home Guards against Tamil civilians.^[68]

The 1990s Black September Massacres

The following events are collectively referred to as Black September by Sri Lankan Tamils, a period marked by a series of civilian massacres in the 1990s following the Kattankudy Massacre on Sri Lankan Muslims.^{[92][93][58][94]} The Sathurukondan Massacre, carried out on 9 September 1990 in Batticaloa by the Sri Lankan Army, supported by Muslim Home Guards, resulted in the killings of 184 Tamils.^[95] Among the victims were five infants, 42 children under the age of 10, and 28 seniors.^[96] The brutality of this attack exemplified the indiscriminate nature of the violence that targeted Tamil civilians, regardless of age or gender.^[97] The massacre, while framed as part of the government's strategy to combat the Tamil Tigers, demonstrated a larger pattern of violence that blurred the lines between combatants and civilians.^[98] ^[94]

A few days earlier, on 5 September 1990, an incident at Eastern University campus further highlighted the vulnerability of displaced populations, when 158 Tamil refugees were killed at the Eastern University campus, where they had sought shelter from ongoing violence.^[99] ^[100] The refugees, who had sought sanctuary at the university, were rounded up and arrested by Sri Lankan forces and Muslim Home Guards.^[101] ^[102] They were then executed. None of these victims were ever seen again, and their bodies were never recovered.^[103] The lack of accountability for this massacre reflects a broader issue of impunity that plagued many attacks against Tamil civilians.^{[104][105][106][107]} This massacre demonstrated the vulnerability of displaced populations during the war and the severity of the violence they faced.

The massacre at Eastern University was soon followed by another atrocity only two weeks later. On September 20, 1990, the Sri Lankan Army and Muslim Home Guards stationed in Batticaloa, Savukkadi killed 33 Tamils in a series of coordinated attacks.^[58] Among the victims were 26 villagers, including ten children and an infant, who were burned alive and buried in ditches.^{[99][57]} Additionally, Soldiers also targeted fishermen off the coast, as a result 7 fishermen were shot dead while at sea.^[58]

On the same day as the Savukkadi attacks (September 20, 1990), Muslim Home Guards woke the Tamil villagers of Thalaivai, Eravur from their homes, claiming they needed to meet with an army commander. Once the victims were gathered in the forest, they were executed.^[58] Fourteen Tamils were murdered in this gruesome attack.^[59] This massacre highlights the deceptive tactics used by the perpetrators, who lured the victims under the guise of military meetings, only to murder them in cold blood.

Barely 24 hours after the Savukkadi and Thalaivai massacres, in the village of Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu on September 21, 1990, 44 Tamils, including women and children, were rounded up by Muslim Home Guards, dragged to the beach, and brutally attacked with knives and swords.^[60] The massacre resulted in the deaths of 17 individuals, and another 27 were seriously injured.^[61]

The failure to investigate these incidents despite credible witness testimonies, human rights reports, and international attention has reinforced a culture in which state-affiliated groups operated with little fear of legal consequence. In some cases, this impunity contributed to the normalization of violence, where extrajudicial killings and reprisal attacks against civilians occurred without restraint or oversight. The unwillingness to confront state-linked violence not only undermines the rule of law but also continues to impede post-war reconciliation and justice for affected communities.

Veeramunai Massacre, Amparai Testimonies

A resident of Ganapathipuram, who was a witness said^{[108][109][40]}:

“When the army entered Malwaththa, the soldiers shot people at sight, while houses were looted and burnt. We, on hearing gunshot and seeing flames rising from burning homes, fled with our family... We reached the Veeramunai Temple... people from other villages had arrived...”.

A resident from Veeramunai said^{[108][109]}:

“We found the soldiers were creating a climate of terror. People were picked up from their homes, the road and the paddy fields. We went to the Temple that was made a refugee camp. People on their way to work were stopped and killed and burnt”.

The operation of the army at Veeramunai was described by a mother who said ^{[108][109]}:

“On 20th June 1990... army vehicles drove into the Veeramunai temple, where thousands of people had taken refuge. The soldiers requested all males over the age of 15 to get in line. The soldiers entered the temple and examined whether anyone was hiding and then began picking some youths and children... The women asked them what they were trying to do. One of the officers said they were being taken for questioning... The soldiers ignored and started to leave the youths. The officer said he would order his men to shoot every man and woman. The army carried away our children. A few returned later battered and bruised, following severe torture”.

A youth who escaped from sure death after arrest, made the following statement^{[108][109]}:

“I was one among those arrested on 20th June from the Veeramunai temple. The soldiers took us to the Sammanthurai Al-Matjan Muslim School where we were beaten severely. When I was produced before him, he said “No” and I was taken aside. The people to whom he said, “Yes” were taken into another building. Of the many victims picked up on this day only around 20 returned. We learnt that half burnt human bodies were rotting at Malaikadu. Muslims carried several tractor loads of paddy husks to cover the rotting bodies and burnt them”.

The testimony of Madasamy Kathirkamamoorthy^{[108][109]}:

“An army truck had stopped. No one was in uniform... they were carrying weapons. These armed men started hitting people – they spoke in Sinhala and told me to get into the truck. There were 9 of us... Some had blood dripping. When the wives came to stop them, they hit the wives and children.

In the truck, they took us to a big forest in Amparai. They tied our hands behind our back. They stood in front of us, loaded their machine guns and shot everyone.

I turned to my side – my leg and arm were hit by the bullets. I have a big scar on my leg. As people tried to get up, they were again shot till they were dead on the floor. So I just laid there with my eyes shut. My leg was badly hurt. I was not even sure I had a leg. I dragged my leg and slowly walked away”.

Sathurukondan Massacre, Batticaloa Testimonies

Speaking to TamilNet ^{[110][94][52]} in 1997, Mr K Krishnakumar, recounted what happened that day:

“The army had cordoned off villages before 10 a.m. Four masked men walked into the hall and selected me (K. Krishnakumar), T. Kumar, C. Sinnaththamby, and K. Jeevaratnam. Our shirts were removed... Then we were taken to the camp's back yard. We were dragged about fifty meters further, where we saw a pit about 20 ft by 5ft.”

“...I saw 25 soldiers armed with long swords and cudgels standing round the pit.”

“I was hit with a cudgel and I fell face downward. When the other three screamed the soldiers stripped them and stuffed cloth into their mouths. One by one they were taken to the edge of the pit and hacked with swords and were pushed in.”

“A soldier came up to me and slammed me against the Cashew tree, pulled out a long kris knife, and stabbed me through the chest. He then pushed me into the pit... Though I was bleeding, I didn't lose consciousness.”

“Four more men were brought there, hacked to death and were pushed in to the pit. The soldiers went again and brought two pregnant women. They were stripped naked and their breasts were sliced off. The soldiers then cut open the stomachs of these women... and pushed them into the pit.”

“Later they brought many girls butt naked... and all were raped repeatedly. Then the soldiers cut off their breasts with the swords. Three of these girls were pushed into the well. “As the area was dark, I was able to slowly crawl out while they were busy raping, killing and pushing bodies into the pit. When the soldiers left, I crawled towards the camp fence and hid in shrub jungle behind the camp. Later the soldiers brought tires and set fire to the bodies in the pit. With the help of a passer-by I went to the hospital.”

Eastern University Refugee Massacre Testimonies

The lecturers at the campus provided protection for them and hoisted a white flag in front of the University. One eyewitness account, as recorded by UTHR, reports^[111]:

“As soon as the army went into the villages of Kondayankerny, Sungankerny and Karuvakkerny they started shooting and hacking the people to death. The soldiers were equipped with a Bulldozer... They lost no time in burying the bodies. In those three villages, they arrested forty-eight (48) people and took them to Valaichchenai main road. There they shot dead all 48 people and buried their bodies in the compound of a private land”^[111]

Following the arrest of 138 individuals, the witness himself was detained on his way home and held for nine days, during which he observed the killing of detainees inside the camp. ^[111] The witness further stated that:

“In seven days, the (Eastern University) campus was full of fifty-five thousand (55,000) refugees. On the eighth day, the army walked into the campus ignoring our white flag. Muslim Home Guards collaborating with the army also came... While he was talking to us, two empty buses came to the campus. The soldiers ordered the people to come in a line and with the help of Muslim Home Guards; they selected hundred and thirty eight (138) (subsequently revised up to 158) youths from the camp. All the parents and family members started pleading and screaming. But they were all taken to an unknown destination. Later we went to all the army camps and inquired about the whereabouts of the 138 people. But the army said that they were not aware of those people.”^[111]

Thangamuthu Jayasingam, who served as the officer in charge of the Vantharumoolai refugee camp at the time, later recorded in 2015 that he had spoken to “various national and international persons” and had provided testimony before the Presidential Commission on Missing Persons in 2004. ^[112]

“I gave them the names of all the army officers who came for the operation that day and also gave the name of the Army Major General who came three days after on 8th September to the camp. I am not aware whether there had been any inquiries to this day.”^[113]

Akkaraipattu massacre, Amparai Testimonies

According to the local community leaders of Akkaraipattu, the victims were threshing paddy fields when troops appeared from the nearby jungle firing into the air. The men were rounded up, tied, and taken back to the fields where they were shot. Their bodies were reportedly piled on top of a dry rice harvest and burned, with several empty ammunition cases found at the scene. ^{[28][29]}

The event was documented by journalist Humphrey Hawksley in The Guardian on February 22, 1986. ^[28]

The incident has been cited as an example of ethnic cleansing and systematic violence against the Tamil population in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province during that period. ^[28]

Tiraikerny massacre, Amparai Testimonies

Read one eye witness account, recorded by the North East Secretariat on Human Rights, below. ^{[43][90]}

“In the morning, on the 6th August 1990; I heard the cries of women... of my Muslim neighbour's house. I rushed to the house from which the Muslim women raised cries... The women said that their men who went to the paddy field at Alimadakadu had been cut to pieces and slain. No one knew who the killers were. I returned home... I heard people shouting... We found men, women and children moving away from their homes... They told us that they were running away from an angry mob composed of Muslims who had vowed to destroy Thiraiakerny. Tamils... warned us saying “do not stay here; the mob is heavily armed according to information received from friendly Muslims”. We left home with the children and took refuge in the Pillaiyar Temple.

Soon the Muslims appeared on the road at a distance. Riotous gangsters numbering more than 150 men, armed with knives, swords, sickles and clubs... called out the Muslims to unite to fight the Tamils. People prayed for Divine intervention... As we looked up we saw... The smoke came from the burning houses of the Tamils. As the goons were approaching the Pillaiyar Temple, the people ran towards the Periyathambiran Temple and the mob followed. The people having resigned their fate watched with fear.

The mob reached the Periyathambiran Temple premise, an armoured car, drove into the temple premise. There were six soldiers in uniform in the vehicle... They did not themselves take part in the attack. The behaviour of the soldiers gave some courage to the Tamil youths to approach the armoured car... They... sought to plead with the soldiers... to prevent any attack from the Muslim Mobs on the Tamils... The soldiers were alleged to have told... Tamils had killed Muslims and therefore the army cannot intervene. The soldiers waved their hands... and that waving of their hands was taken as a signal for the attackers to begin their assault.

First they began desecrating the Temple... Some of the Muslims entered into the sanctum and came out with the Sacred Trident and the spear... on the ground... The Tamils were later attacked with the Trident, the spear, and the tools taken away from the Temple. The attackers first assaulted the men seated on the ground with knives. Those who were in the rear escaped... even some of the injured ran away, but did not return alive. My husband... died there.

The people wondered whether it was a joint attack of the Army and the Muslims... The arrival of the soldiers at the Hindu temple premises had an (positive) impact (for the Muslim mob)... As the attackers were busy... sharp reports of fire-arms were heard... The soldiers who had come over to Thiraiakerny... fled in their armoured car.

When the armoured vehicle left, the attackers too fled, crying out. 'Tigers are coming to attack us'. ...Among those killed was not only men but also women and children. A very young mother known as Vijeyaluxmy and her infant too were killed. The Special Task Force (STF) came in... They had come there firing all the way. We realized that it is their firing that drove away the soldiers and the attackers. They saw the large number that had been murdered and injured. There was blood and flesh strewn all around...”

Polonnaruwa Massacre (Muthugal & Karapola Villages) Testimonies

According to Amnesty International Report which covered the Polonnaruwa Massacres, here an except of what happened that day: ^[65]
^[67]

More than 80 Tamil villagers of nearby Muthugal and Karapola were intentionally killed by Home Guards... in apparent retaliation for the attack on 29 April 1992; where the LTTE allegedly attacked the Muslim village of Alanchipothana... ^{[67][68]}

Some of the Sri Lankan policemen from Karapola then came with the Home Guards to Muthugal... shot and stabbed to death dozens of Tamil villagers there, and then went back to Karapola, where they allegedly killed a further 38 people. At around 9am, they returned to Muthugal and... killed until approximately 10am, when the army arrived in the village and chased them away.

Among the victims were many vulnerable people including women and children, including babies, killed while hiding... In one such episode, a woman named Sivapathy and her 3-year-old son (Sinnarasiah Thangeswaran), were shot as she tried to defend the older children with the young infant in her arms. In one house, where a large group of people had sought refuge, 8 were killed. As per the father..., his son was killed by a shot in the chest when he leaned against the door... The shot was fired by one of at least four home guards... Other survivors have substantiated this claim, and provided additional information... and shot and stabbed to death seven others, including three children aged 2, 4 and 12. ^[67] Some of the eye-witnesses have been able to identify by name... responsible for the killing of their relatives. ^[67]

Many people who fled from Muthugal were... found hiding in paddy fields by Home Guards from Madurangala... Amnesty International received a tip about the arrest of five men and one woman among them. There is proof that these six people were taken to the Peiris Wijayasinghe's residence at Madurangala. As per his wife, eight Home Guards arrived at their home... She affirmed they

brought six prisoners, including P Packiyarajah, a distant relative and a woman from Muthugal... In an interview... she stated:^[67]

"They asked my husband whether he knew Packiyarajah of Muthugal... My husband then said, '... they are innocent and it is out of fear that they had hidden in the paddy [rice] fields'. The Home Guards then beat my husband with rifle butts and with their hands. Soon afterwards the Karapola policemen came... and they beat all the six men, including my husband, and ordered all of them to get into a white van. They said they were taking them to the Karapola police station." ^[67]

Sri Lankan Army personnel from Welikande army camp allegedly entered the area at approximately 6.30am. They are alleged to have passed through Karapola village on the way to Alanchipothana..., approximately half an hour before the Home Guards attacked Karapola.^[67] The total death toll that were reported killed at Muthugal is 51, thirteen of whom are reported to be under 10 years old. A list of the names of the 51 villagers executed at Muthugal, and of 31 of the 38 killed at Karapola in these Massacres, was published by Amnesty International. ^[67]

References

1. "Shielding The Innocent - Rear Admiral Sarath Weerasekara" (https://web.archive.org/web/20130123091722/http://www.w.businessday.lk/cover_page.php?issue=207). *BusinessToday.lk*. May 2009. Archived from the original (http://www.usinesstoday.lk/cover_page.php?issue=207) on 2013-01-23. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
2. "Mobilization And Supplementary Forces Act (No. 40 of 1985)" (http://www.commonlii.org/lk/legis/num_act/masfa40o1985448/). *www.commonlii.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-27.
3. "New Muslim battalion amid militancy furore | Tamil Guardian" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926193915/https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/new-muslim-battalion-amid-militancy-furore>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/new-muslim-battalion-amid-militancy-furore>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
4. "Islamic Fractions Hand Over their Weapons" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20190928051653/http://www.army.lk/node/38128>). *www.army.lk*. Archived from the original (<https://www.army.lk/node/38128>) on 2019-09-28. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
5. "Civil Security Department: The Deep Militarisation of the Vanni" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250927211153/https://adayaalam.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ACPR-Report-Civil-Security-Department-The-Deep-Militarisation-of-the-Vanni-.pdf>) (PDF). *Adayaalam Centre for Policy Research*. 20 September 2017. Archived from the original on 27 September 2025. Retrieved 27 September 2025.
6. "Ministry of Defence - Sri Lanka" (https://web.archive.org/web/20230127181715/https://www.defence.lk/Article/view_article/3948). *www.defence.lk*. Archived from the original (https://www.defence.lk/Article/view_article/3948) on 2023-01-27. Retrieved 2025-09-27.
7. Irene, Trapani (December 2022). "Forgotten Histories – Sri Lanka's civil war and diaspora" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926211759/https://eumomi.sp.unipi.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/IRENE-TRAPANI-Forgotten-Histories-%E2%80%93-Sri-Lanka's-civil-war-and-diaspora.pdf>) (PDF). *UNIFI*. Archived from the original (<https://eumomi.sp.unipi.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/IRENE-TRAPANI-Forgotten-Histories-%E2%80%93-Sri-Lanka's-civil-war-and-diaspora.pdf>) (PDF) on 26 September 2025.
8. "Full text: Tamil Tiger proposals" (https://web.archive.org/web/20250926211307/http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3232913.stm). 2003-11-01. Archived from the original (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3232913.stm) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
9. "Surface calm, pervasive fear" (<https://frontline.thehindu.com/magazine/issue/vol02-24/>). *Frontline*. 13 December 1985. p. 31. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
10. "15 Years Since Sri Lanka's Conflict Ended, No Justice for War Crimes | Human Rights Watch" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926134350/https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/14/15-years-sri-lanka's-conflict-ended-no-justice-war-crimes>). 2024-05-14. Archived from the original (<https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/14/15-years-sri-lanka's-conflict-ended-no-justice-war-crimes>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
11. "ECCHR: Sri Lankan civil war: Government officials still unpunished" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926134252/https://www.ecchr.eu/en/case/sri-lankan-civil-war-government-officials-still-unpunished/>). *www.ecchr.eu*. Archived from the original (<https://www.ecchr.eu/en/case/sri-lankan-civil-war-government-officials-still-unpunished/>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
12. Muggah, Robert (2008). *Relocation failures in Sri Lanka: a short history of internal displacement and resettlement*. London, England: Zed Books. pp. 108–134. ISBN 978-1-84813-046-3.
13. "State Terrorism". *Tamil Times*. February 1985. p. 14.
14. "THE BOTTOM LINE" (https://web.archive.org/web/20080530091649/http://www.thebottomline.lk/2008/05/28/asiseeit_col.htm). *www.thebottomline.lk*. Archived from the original (http://www.thebottomline.lk/2008/05/28/asiseeit_col.htm) on 2008-05-30. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
15. "Janaka Perera - Sri Lanka" (https://web.archive.org/web/20110606070649/http://www.lankanewspapers.com/news/2008/10/33220_space.html). *www.lankanewspapers.com*. Archived from the original (http://www.lankanewspapers.com/news/2008/10/33220_space.html) on 2011-06-06. Retrieved 2025-09-24.

16. "Asia Times: SRI LANKA: THE UNTOLD STORY Chapter 31: Indira Gandhi - a casualty of" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20060615040549/http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/DC16Df02.html>). *www.atimes.com*. Archived from the original (<http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/DC16Df02.html>) on 2006-06-15. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
17. "Massacre of 32 Tamils by the Sri Lankan army remembered in Othiyamalai | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/massacre-32-tamils-sri-lankan-army-remembered-othiyamalai>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
18. "Special Report No. 26 - Can the East be won through Human Culling?" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103222/https://uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport26.htm>). *University Teachers for Human Rights*. August 3, 2007. Archived from the original on September 24, 2025.
19. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 63–65. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
20. "100s killed in massacre of Tamils, 25,000 homeless". *Daily Telegraph*. June 10, 1985.
21. "OPERATION MURUGAPURI, An Eyewitness Account". *Tamil Times*. November 1985. p. 17.
22. "Operation Nilaveli: War on refugees". *Tamil Times*. October 1985. p. 10.
23. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 87–89. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
24. "Home guards kill 15 Tamils watching video film". *Tamil Times*. October 1985. p. 11.
25. "அவர்கள் பார்வையில் சிறுவரும் போராளிகள்!". *Uthayan*. December 13, 1985. pp. 1–4.
26. "Home guards raped and shot two Tamil women". *Tamil Times*. February 1986. p. 18.
27. Frerks, Georg; Sivanathan, Pasupathy; Kariyakarawana, Saman; Abeyratne, Upul; Abdullah, Rameez; Klem, Bart; Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen Clingendael, eds. (2005). *Dealing with diversity: Sri Lankan discourses on peace and conflict* (2. Aufl ed.). The Hague: The Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. p. 118. ISBN 978-90-5031-091-8.
28. Hawksley, Humphrey (22 February 1986). "Tamils murdered in Akkaraipattu - 1986" (<https://tamilnation.org/indictment/indict041.htm>). *The Guardian via Tamil Nation*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
29. *ISDA News Review on South Asia/Indian Ocean*. Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. pp. 1985.p.363.
30. "Udumbankulam farmer's massacre". *Tamil Times*. May 1986. p. 8.
31. *Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*. 2009. pp. 62–63. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
32. TELEGRAPH, COLOMBO (2014-12-19). "May 1986 - The Death Of The Tamil Struggle And A New Rationale For Massacres" (<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/may-1986-the-death-of-the-tamil-struggle-and-a-new-rationale-for-massacres/>). *Colombo Telegraph*. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
33. "Home guards kill 34". *Tamil Times*. August 1986. p. 6.
34. *Massacres of Tamils 1956-2008 (Digitized in English)* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*. 2009. pp. 63–64. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
35. "Villagers slain in Sri Lanka attack". *Chicago Tribune*. July 11, 1986. p. 12.
36. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 135–136. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
37. "கல்முனையில் செவ்வாய் 31 தமிழர் வெட்டிக்கொலை". *Uthayan*. 12 July 1990. p. 4.
38. UTHR(J) (16 October 1990). "Special Report No. 3: The War And Its Consequences in the Amparai District" (https://web.archive.org/web/20250924122743/https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm#_Toc15893115). *www.uthr.org*. Archived from the original (https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm#_Toc15893115) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
39. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 136–139. 2009. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
40. "Special Report No. 3, The War And Its Consequences in the Amparai District" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924122743/https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm>). *www.uthr.org*. 16 October 1990. Archived from the original (<https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
41. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 74–87. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
42. "From the war front". *Tamil Times*. August 1990. p. 11.
43. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 147–153. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.

44. Webmaster, Sangam. "Remembering a Martyr - Sangam.org" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180930230358/http://www.sangam.org/articles/view2/?uid=1162>). *www.sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<http://www.sangam.org/articles/view2/?uid=1162>) on 2018-09-30. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
45. "Mystery of the Murder of an American Priest in Batticaloa – Ilankai Tamil Sangam" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930095958/https://sangam.org/mystery-of-the-murder-of-an-american-priest-in-batticaloa/>). *sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/mystery-of-the-murder-of-an-american-priest-in-batticaloa/>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
46. "The Disappearance of 'Father Basketball' in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka – Ilankai Tamil Sangam" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930100051/https://sangam.org/the-disappearance-of-father-basketball-in-batticaloa-sri-lanka/>). *sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/the-disappearance-of-father-basketball-in-batticaloa-sri-lanka/>) on 2025-09-30. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
47. "31st anniversary of forcibly disappeared Father commemorated in Batticaloa" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930100313/https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/31st-anniversary-forcibly-disappeared-father-commemorated-batticaloa>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/31st-anniversary-forcibly-disappeared-father-commemorated-batticaloa>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
48. "Statue unveiled for Father who was forcibly disappeared in Batticaloa 30 years ago" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930100523/https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/statue-unveiled-father-who-was-forcibly-disappeared-batticaloa-30-years-ago>). *Tamil Guardian*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/statue-unveiled-father-who-was-forcibly-disappeared-batticaloa-30-years-ago>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
49. "ASA 37/015/1994 Sri Lanka: When will justice be done?" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160306073802/https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/184000/asa370151994en.pdf>) (PDF). *Amnesty International*. 30 June 1994. Archived from the original (<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/184000/asa370151994en.pdf>) (PDF) on 2016-03-06. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
50. "Human Rights Watch World Report 2002: Asia: Sri Lanka" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250713115800/https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/asia10.html>). *www.hrw.org*. Archived from the original (<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/asia10.html>) on 2025-07-13. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
51. "Report No. 7: The Clash of Ideologies and the Continuing Tragedy in the Batticaloa and Amparai Districts – Ch 4: The Refugee Camp at the Eastern University, Vantharumoolai" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924133329/https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm>). *University Teachers for Human Rights*. 8 May 1991. Archived from the original (<http://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
52. Hoole, Rajan; Thiranagama, Rajani (2001). *Sri Lanka, the arrogance of power: myths, decadence & murder: commemoration volume for Dr. Rajani Thiranagama, 23rd February 1954 - 21st September 1989* (1st ed.). Colombo: University Teachers for Human Rights Jaffna. pp. 378–397. ISBN 978-955-9447-04-7.
53. McDermott/Kripal (2003). McDermott, Rachel Fell; Kripal, Jeffrey J. (eds.). *Encountering Kali: In the Margins, at the Center, in the West*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. ISBN 978-0-520-23240-2.
54. Caron, Cynthia (15 March 2003). "Floundering Peace Process: Need to Widen Participation" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4413336>). *Economic and Political Weekly*. **38** (11): 1029–1031. JSTOR 4413336 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4413336>).
55. "Report No. 8: The Debasement of Law and of Humanity and the Drift Towards Total War - Ch 2: Batticaloa and Amparai Districts" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924135513/https://uthr.org/Reports/Report8/chapter2.htm>). *University Teachers for Human Rights*. 28 August 1991. Archived from the original (<https://uthr.org/Reports/Report8/chapter2.htm>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
56. Lawrence, Patricia (2003). *The ocean of stories: children's imagination, creativity, and reconciliation in eastern Sri Lanka*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: International Centre for Ethnic Studies. ISBN 978-955-580-076-1.
57. "33 Tamils killed by Sri Lankan Army in 1990 Savukkadi massacre remembered in Batticaloa | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/33-tamils-killed-sri-lankan-army-1990-savukkadi-massacre-remembered-batticaloa>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
58. "Another Black September massacre remembered in Batticaloa" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923121019/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?artid=12938>). *TamilNet*. 20 September 2004. Archived from the original on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
59. "Sept 20, 1990 – Batticaloa massacre: 47 Tamils were hacked and shot to death by Sri Lankan army troops" (<https://nitter.net/30sec2remember/status/1307699363951632385#m>). *nitter.net*. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923021139/https://nitter.net/pic/orig/media%2FG1UnJCoXMAAQXVR.jpg>) from the original on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
60. "Batticaloa locals remember 17 Tamils killed by Muslim Home Guards in Puthukudiyiruppu massacre | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/batticaloa-locals-remember-17-tamils-killed-muslim-home-guards-puthukudiyiruppu-massacre>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
61. "17 Tamils massacred by SL army and Muslim homeguards remembered | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/17-tamils-massacred-sl-army-and-muslim-homeguards-remembered>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
62. "News round up". *Tamil Times*. January 1991. p. 14.
63. "ASA 37/014/1991 Sri Lanka: The Northeast: Human rights violations in a context of armed conflict" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150606203713/https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/196000/asa370141991en.pdf>) (PDF). *Amnesty International*. 31 August 1991. Archived from the original (<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/196000/asa370141991en.pdf>) (PDF) on 2015-06-06. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
64. "News round up". *Tamil Times*. March 1991. p. 21.

65. "Sri Lanka: Deliberate killings of Muslim and Tamil villagers in Polonnaruwa" (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa37/010/1992/en/>). *Amnesty International*. 1992-05-31. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
66. *Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). Manitham Publishers. 2009. pp. 129–130. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
67. "Deliberate killings of Muslim and Tamil villagers in Polonnaruwa" (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/asa370101992en.pdf>) (PDF). *Amnesty Reports on Sri Lanka*.
68. "Grand Jury Indictment for Genocide: USA vs Gotabaya Rajapaksa & Sarath Fonseka" (<https://www.tamilnet.com/img/publish/2009/08/Final800pIndictmentDocument.pdf>) (PDF). *Counsel for Tamils Against Genocide (Bruce Fein & Associates, Inc.)*.
69. TamilNet (24 September 1997). "Massacre in eastern Tamil village: 8 killed" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924153200/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7327>). *www.tamilnet.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7327>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
70. "Sri Lanka: Government forces kill eight civilians - justice needed now" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20230111152818/https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/asa370021998en.pdf>) (PDF). *www.amnesty.org*. 3 February 1998. Archived from the original (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/asa370021998en.pdf>) (PDF) on 2023-01-11. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
71. TamilNet (27 January 2000). "Massacre accused shot dead" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924154232/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=4577>). *www.tamilnet.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=4577>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
72. "Tamils Kill 110 Muslims at 2 Sri Lankan Mosques" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160306093117/http://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/05/world/tamils-kill-110-muslims-at-2-sri-lankan-mosques.html>). 5 August 1990. Archived from the original (<https://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/05/world/tamils-kill-110-muslims-at-2-sri-lankan-mosques.html>) on 2016-03-06. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
73. Hodgins, Deanna (22 October 1990). "An Ethnic Inferno in Island Paradise via From Sachi's Files: Ch 4 – Ilankai Tamil Sangam" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926171850/https://sangam.org/sachis-files-chapter-4-2/>). *Insight on the News via sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/sachis-files-chapter-4-2/>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
74. Trawick, Margaret (2007). *Enemy lines: childhood, warfare and play in Batticaloa*. Los Angeles: University of California press. ISBN 978-0-520-24515-0.
75. "Report 5, Chapter 2 (A Bloody Stalemate)" (https://www.uthr.org/Reports/Report5/chapter2.htm#_Toc515633804). *www.uthr.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
76. Ravindran, Jeevan (2023-05-08). "In Sri Lanka, Tamils Are Divided Over the Tigers' Militant Legacy" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926195035/https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/in-sri-lanka-tamils-are-divided-over-the-tigers-militant-legacy/>). *New Lines Magazine*. Archived from the original (<https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/in-sri-lanka-tamils-are-divided-over-the-tigers-militant-legacy/>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
77. "Muslim militants hand over weapons" (https://web.archive.org/web/20250925145708/https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090705/News/sundaytimesnews_16.html). *www.sundaytimes.lk*. Archived from the original (https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090705/News/sundaytimesnews_16.html) on 2025-09-25. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
78. "Kattankudy-weapons - Sri Lankan Muslim jihadi or Home Guard handing over weapon (4).jpg" (<http://web.archive.org/web/20250925103427/https://yarl.com/forum3/gallery/image/31131-kattankudy-weapons-sri-lankan-muslim-jihadi-or-home-guard-handing-over-weapon-4.jpg>). *கருத்துக்களம்* (in Tamil). Archived from the original (<https://yarl.com/forum3/gallery/image/31131-kattankudy-weapons-sri-lankan-muslim-jihadi-or-home-guard-handing-over-weapon-4.jpg>) on 2025-09-25. Retrieved 2025-09-29.
79. TamilNet (5 July 2009). "Eastern armed Muslim groups surrender weapons" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20120118060550/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?artid=29723&catid=13>). *www.tamilnet.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?artid=29723&catid=13>) on 2012-01-18. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
80. admin (2021-12-02). "Othiyamalai massacre 02.12.1984 - Tamil Heritage" (<https://telibrary.com/en/othiyamalai-massacre-02-12-1984/>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
81. "Massacre of 32 Tamils by the Sri Lankan army remembered in Othiyamalai | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/massacre-32-tamils-sri-lankan-army-remembered-othiyamalai>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
82. "Othiyamalai massacre of 32 Tamils by Sri Lankan military remembered | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/othiyamalai-massacre-32-tamils-sri-lankan-military-remembered-0>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
83. "ஓதியமலைப் படுகொலைகள்" (https://ta.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%E0%AE%92%E0%AE%A4%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%AF%E0%AE%AE%E0%AE%B2%E0%AF%88%E0%AE%AA%E0%AF%8D_%E0%AE%AA%E0%AE%9F%E0%AF%81%E0%AE%95%E0%AF%8A%E0%AE%B2%E0%AF%88%E0%AE%95%E0%AE%B3%E0%AF%8D&oldid=4251989), *தமிழ் விக்கிப்பீடியா* (in Tamil), 2025-04-12, retrieved 2025-09-23
84. "Othiyamalai massacre 01 Dec1984 – Genocide Against Tamil" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930070348/https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3257>). Archived from the original (<https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3257>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
85. "Veeramunai massacre" (<https://tamilamericansunited.com/genocide/veeramunai-massacre/>). *Tamil Americans United*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.

86. Mr, Paluvets (2025-08-16). "The Story of Veeramunai: How Muslim Home Guards Carried Out the Largest Massacre of Tamils in the East!" (<https://www.mrpaluvets.com/2025/08/the-story-of-veeramunai-how-muslim-home.html>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
87. "Veeramunai massacre 20 June 1990 – Genocide Against Tamil" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930070440/http://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3425>). Archived from the original (<https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3425>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
88. "Tamils murdered in Akkaraipattu - 1986" (<https://tamilnation.org/indictment/indict041>). *tamilnation.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
89. "Thiraiakerny marks 35 years since 1990 massacre with calls to exhume mass grave | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/thiraiakerny-marks-35-years-1990-massacre-calls-exhume-mass-grave>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
90. admin (2021-08-06). "Tiraiakerny massacre 06.08.1990 - Tamil Heritage" (<https://telibrary.com/en/tiraiakerny-massacre/>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
91. "Thiraiakerny massacre 06 Aug 1990 – Genocide Against Tamil" (<https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3439>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
92. "Sri Lankan Tamil rebels commemorate civilian killings in eastern town" (<http://www.highbeam.com/Search?searchTerm=Sri%20Lankan%20Tamil%20rebels%20commemorate>). *Xinhua News Agency*. 1 July 2007. Archived from the original (<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-107266313.html>) on 14 June 2011.
93. "Black September remembrance in Batticaloa university" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250929135719/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7437>). *TamilNet*. 5 September 2002. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7437>) on 29 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-29.
94. TamilNet (10 December 1997). "A luxury they cannot afford" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923124942/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=79&artid=7375>). *TamilNet*. Archived from the original on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
95. "Report 8, Chapter 2: The massacre at Sathurukondan" (<https://www.uthr.org/Reports/Report8/chapter2.htm#c>). *www.uthr.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
96. "Special Report No.12" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930064009/https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport12.htm>). *www.uthr.org*. Archived from the original (<https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport12.htm>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
97. "Tamil massacre victim files police complaint demanding investigation into atrocity | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/tamil-massacre-victim-files-police-complaint-demanding-investigation-atrocity>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
98. Rajasegar, Selvaraja (2020-09-10). "The Sathurukondan Massacre: Witnesses Speak - Groundviews" (<https://groundviews.org/2020/09/10/the-sathurukondan-massacre-witnesses-speak/>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
99. "Welcome to UTHRJ: Report 7, Chapter 4" (<https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm>). *uthr.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
100. "Sri Lanka: The "disappearances" from Eastern University Refugee Camp on 5 September 1990" (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa37/019/1993/en/>). *Amnesty International*. 1993-10-26. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
101. "Searching for 34 Years for the 158 People Handed Over to the Military - Dr. T. Jayasingham" (<https://puja.lk/story/searching-for-34-years-for-the-158-people-handed-over-to-the-military-dr-t-jayasingham/>). *PUJA*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
102. Jayasingam, Thangamuthu (2025-09-04). "35 Years Of Missing: Ray Of Hope For Truth On The 158 Missing From Eastern University Refugee Camp" (<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/35-years-of-missing-ray-of-hope-for-truth-on-the-158-missing-from-eastern-university-refugee-camp/>). *Colombo Telegraph*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
103. AsiaNews.it. "Batticaloa Tamil women refuse to forget the men" (<https://www.asianews.it/news-en/Batticaloa-Tamil-women-refuse-to-forget-the-men-taken-away-by-the-army-32690.html>). *www.asianews.it*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
104. "158 Tamils disappeared from Eastern Uni in 1990 round-up remembered in Batticaloa | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/158-tamils-disappeared-eastern-uni-1990-round-remembered-batticaloa>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
105. "158 disappeared & massacred Tamils remembered at Eastern Uni 28 years on | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/158-disappeared-massacred-tamils-remembered-eastern-uni-28-years>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
106. "காணாமலாக்கப்பட்ட 158 பேரின் 35ஆவது ஆண்டு நினைவேந்தல் - தமிழ்வின்" (<https://tamilwin.com/article/eastern-university-missing-persons-remembrance-day-1757102544>). *Tamilwin* (in Tamil). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
107. "35 வருடங்களின் முன்பு கிழக்குப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்ட 158பேர் - ஐபிசி தமிழ்" (<https://ibctamil.com/article/158-people-disappeared-from-eastern-university-1757095067>). *IBC Tamil* (in Tamil). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
108. "32nd anniversary of Veeramunai massacre commemorated in Amparai | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/32nd-anniversary-veeramunai-massacre-commemorated-amparai>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
109. *Massacres of Tamils 1956-2008 (in English)* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). Manitham Publishers. 2009. pp. 79–88. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-26.

110. *Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008* (<https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). Manitham Publishers. 2009. pp. 159–167. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0.
111. "UTHR(J): Report 7, Chapter 4 "Report on the Eastern University Massacre" " (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924133329/https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm#h>). *www.uthr.org*. Archived from the original (<https://www.uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm#h>) on 24 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
112. "Eastern University disappearances and massacre remembered 32 years on | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/eastern-university-disappearances-and-massacre-remembered-32-years>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
113. TELEGRAPH, COLOMBO (2015-09-03). "Eastern University Massacre: Missing, Missing, Missing For 25 Years" (<http://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/eastern-university-massacre-missing-missing-missing-for-25-years/>). *Colombo Telegraph*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.

Further Reading & External Links

- A major source for the documentation of these massacres is the book *Massacres of Tamils, 1956 - 2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>), published by Manitham Publishers in 2009 (ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0). The book records 171 incidents over a 52-year period and is based on eyewitness testimonies and collected data. It was co-published by the North East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESOHR) and the Chennai-based human rights trust Manitham.

Independent reports, documentaries and texts

- Sri Lanka's Killing Fields (<http://www.channel4.com/programmes/sri-lankas-killing-fields/4od>) an investigative documentary by ITN/Channel 4
-

Sri Lankan civil war (1983–2009)				
Origins	Sri Lankan Tamil nationalism · Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism · Sinhala Only Act · 1956 · 1958 · Vaddukoddai Resolution · 1977 · 1981 (Burning of Jaffna Library) · Black July			
Combatants	 Sri Lanka	Army (LRRP) · Navy · Air Force · Police (Special Task Force) · Home Guards · Attacks on civilians (Assassinations)		
	 LTTE	Divisions · Air Tigers · Sea Tigers · Black Tigers · Attacks (in the 1970s · 1980s · 1990s · 2000s · Assassinations · Suicide bombings)		
	Other militants (list)	ENDLF · ENLF · EPRLF · EROS · PLOTE · TELO		
	 India	Indian Peace Keeping Force		
	 Paramilitary groups	EPDP · TMVP		
Phases	Eelam War I · Indian intervention · Eelam War II · III · IV (Eastern / Northern theatres)			
Major battles	Kokkilai · Vadamarachchi · Poomalai · Pawan · Jaffna University Helidrop · Balavegaya · 1st Elephant Pass · Pooneryn · Riviresa · 1st Mullaitivu · Weli Oya · Sath Jaya · Vavunathivu · Jayasikurui · Thandikulam–Omanthai · 1st Kilinochchi · Oddusuddan · A-9 highway · 2nd Elephant Pass · Bandaranaike Airport attack · Point Pedro · Jaffna · Thoppigala · Vidattaitivu · 2nd Kilinochchi · 2nd Mullaitivu · Puthukkudiyirippu			
Major events	Air Lanka Flight 512 · Indo-Sri Lanka Accord · Expulsions from Northern province · Assassination of Lalith Athulathmudali · Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi · Assassination of Ranasinghe Premadasa · Temple of the Tooth attack · Lionair Flight 602 · Bandaranaike Airport attack · Expulsions from Colombo · 2009 suicide air raid on Colombo			
Leaders	Sri Lanka	Military	Army	Tissa Weeratunga · Nalin Seneviratne · Hamilton Wanasinghe · Cecil Waidyaratne · G. H. De Silva · Rohan Daluwatte · Srilal Weerasooriya · L. P. Balagalle · Shantha Kottegoda · Sarath Fonseka
			Navy	Asoka de Silva · H. A. Silva · Clancy Fernando · D. A. M. R. Samarasekara · H. C. A. C. Thisera · Daya Sandagiri · Wasantha Karannagoda
			Air Force	Dick Perera · Andibuduge Fernando · Makalandage Gunawardena · Oliver Ranasinghe · Jayalath Weerakkody · Donald Perera · Roshan Goonetilleke
		Civilian	J. R. Jayewardene · Ranasinghe Premadasa · Dingiri Banda Wijetunga · Chandrika Kumaratunga · Mahinda Rajapaksa	
	LTTE	Militant	Velupillai Prabhakaran · Pottu Amman · Soosai · Karuna Amman	

		Political	Selvarasa Pathmanathan · Anton Balasingham · <u>S. P. Thamilselvan</u>
	India	Military	<u>Harkirat Singh</u> · <u>Ashok K. Mehta</u> · <u>Kulwant Singh</u> · <u>Depinder Singh</u> · <u>Dalvir Singh</u> · <u>Krishnaswamy Sundarji</u>
		Civilian	<u>R. Venkataraman</u> · <u>Rajiv Gandhi</u> · <u>V. P. Singh</u> · <u>Jyotindra Nath Dixit</u> · <u>J. Jayalalithaa</u> · <u>M. Karunanidhi</u> · <u>Vaiko</u>
Aftermath	<u>Genocide</u> (<u>Films</u> · <u>NPC resolution</u>) · <u>LLRC</u> · <u>Reactions</u> (<u>Protests</u>) · <u>Remembrance Day</u> · <u>UN Panel on Accountability</u> · <u>War crimes</u> (<u>Chemical weapons</u>)		
Related topics	<u>Casualties</u> (<u>Assassinations</u> · <u>Massacres</u>) · <u>Child soldiers</u> · <u>Disappearances</u> (<u>Office on Missing Persons</u>) · <u>Human rights</u> · <u>Popular culture</u> · <u>Terrorism</u> (<u>Non-state</u> · <u>State</u> · <u>PTA</u>) · <u>Sexual violence</u> · <u>Sixth Amendment</u> · <u>Thirteenth Amendment</u> · <u>Women</u> · <u>1988 Maldives coup attempt</u> · <u>1987–1989 JVP insurrection</u>		
 <u>Sri Lankan civil war</u> at Wiktionary ·  <u>Source texts</u> at Wikisource ·  <u>Textbooks</u> at Wikibooks ·  <u>Images and media</u> at the Commons ·  <u>Quotations</u> at Wikiquote ·  <u>News stories</u> at Wikinews			

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Draft:Muslim_Homeguard_Attacks_on_Tamil_Civilians_in_Sri_Lanka&oldid=1316314991"